DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 205 767 UD 021 616

AUTHOR Mickelson, Roslyn Arlin
TITLE Black Working Class Adolescents' Attitudes Toward Academic Achievement.
PUB DATE Apr 81
NOTE 30p.: Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Educational Research Association (Los Angeles, CA, April 13-17, 1981).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Achievement Need; *Black Attitudes; *Black Students; High Schools; *Low Achievement; *Lower Class Students; Student Attitudes; *Student Behavior; *Values
IDENTIFIERS Bourdon (Raymond); Ogbu (John); Parkin (Frank)

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the discrepancy between black working class students' positive attitudes toward academic achievement and their failure to achieve good grades. The research presented was drawn from a study which altered a high school's reward structure, and then tested its effects on student attitudes toward academic achievement. The results of the study indicated that the working class black youth who participated in the research overwhelmingly held positive attitudes toward academic achievement. However, in the year the attitude survey was taken, these students scored below the 10th pencentile in both verbal and quantitative measures on California statewide examinations. The paper concludes that the study effects two different frames of reference, which Frank Parkin has called dominant and subordinate value septems. Further elaboration brings in the research of John Ogbu and Raymond Boudon, and suggests that, since the students are members of the working class and a subordinate racial group, they perceive members of their class/race as not adequately rewarded for academic achievement. Thus, their actual behavior, according to the paper, reflects the subordinate value septem. (ML)

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BLACK WORKING CLASS ADOLESCENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Roslyn Arlin Mickelson

Graduate School of Education
University of California, Los Angeles

Paper Presented at the American Educational Research Association Meetings, April 13-17, 1981, Los Angeles, California.

UD021616

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The expansion of the public high school meant that all adolescents, not just the children of the wealthy, could receive a secondary education. But the inclusion of youngsters from all social classes and all racial and ethnic groups created certain problems for educators. One persistent problem was that not all adolescents were interested in school. This became particularly troublesome with the enactment of compulsory attendance laws, since the uninterested student could no longer drop out of school as easily. Another problem was the difference in achievement between adolescents of different social classes and different racial and ethnic groups. As the American high school underwent its second transformation, from a mass terminal to a mass preparatory institution (Trow, 1961), the problem of motivating students to achieve academically became more acute for educators and parents.

The research reported in this paper is drawn from a study which explored the effects of altering a high school's reward structure on students' attitudes toward academic achivement (Mickelson, 1980).* This research arose out of a body of literature on status systems of the high school, adolescent subcultures and the problems of adolescents' attitudes and behaviors. The study's hypothesis and research questions tested issues raised by Hollingshead (1949), Gordon (1957) and Coleman (1961a, 1961b) who investigated adolescent behavior in the high school setting. All three researchers agree that to a large degree youth seek status and prestige rather than scholastic achievement. Coleman (1961a) suggested that altering the high school reward structure to reinforce scholastic excellence would improve students' attitudes and achievement. The

* I wish to thank Cara Anderson, Gerald Dillingham, C. Wayne Gordon, Roderick Harrison, Linda B. Nilson, Melvin Oliver, Carolyn Rosenstein, Julia Wrigley for helpful comments on earlier drafts. I also wish to thank the students, faculty and staff of the Fernwood Unified School District for their cooperation and assistance with this research.

key finding of the study reported here is that the adolescents in the sample overwhelmingly held positive attitudes toward getting good grades, being remembered as a good student and toward academic achievement in general. The attitudes toward scholastic excellence expressed by these working class black adolescents are strikingly different from attitudes expressed by white teenagers as found by Coleman and others. However, what makes this finding so noteworthy is that these same students are scoring below the tenth percentile in verbal and quantitative measures on California state wide tests of academic performance. The disparity between the subjects' expressed positive attitudes toward academic achievement and their actual performance is the subject of this paper.

Blacks, Education and the Ideology of Mobility

> ...At no time or place in America has there been exemplified so pathetic a faith in education as the lever of racial progress.... No mass movement has been more in the American tradition than the urge which drove Negroes to education soon after the Civil War.
>
> Horace Mann Bond (1934;22-23)

Sociological and historical discussions of black education from Bond (1934) to Kluger (1974) stress the continued faith that black Americans have continued to hold in education as the vehicle for upward social mobility and ultimately for social equality. As Edwards notes, Blacks accept the dominant American ideology. "One of the more pervasive items in our culture is the belief that, particularly for minority groups, education is the primary avenue of upward social mobility...(1976;416)." The literature abounds with findings of the high educational aspirations of black Americans (Ogbu, 1978;188). Furthermore, Cummings argues that there is evidence that black attitudes toward education are similar to those of whites (1977;338). Countering the Moynihan thesis of the pathology of the black family, Ten Houten (1970;338) finds that black parents are very much like their white counterparts with respect to parental socialization and educational goals (as well as other dimensions of family

life). He finds no difference in black and white parental expressive support for education (praise, encouragement), but that black youths are apparently able to obtain more instrumental help from both parents than are white youngsters (1970;167-9).

Thus, any differences in level of academic achievement between black and white students cannot be tied to differences in their parents' attitudes toward education. It is not at all clear that educational value differences between white and black adults exist. On the contrary, the literature on this issue indicates an acceptance by most adults, regardless of race or ethnicity of the dominant ideology that "...mobility takes the traditional American form: attendance at school, hard work, and a little luck (Bernard, 1966;59)."

However, the literature seems to point to a disparity between the attitudes of white parents and the value their children place on academic performance, e.g., Hollingshead (1949), Gordon (1957), Coleman (1961a, 1961b) and Goodlad (1980) found adolescent attitudes to be non-supportive of scholastic endeavors. The majority of American teenagers do not place great value on scholastic performance. For example, in the Social System of the High School (1957) Gordon found that the status system of the world of teenagers does not reward academic excellence. This theme was later elaborated by Coleman in Adolescent Society (1961a).

Since these studies generally excluded black youngsters, it is not possible to generalize from these works to black adolescents' attitudes, and unfortunately, empirical research on black adolescents attitudes toward academic achievement is an underdeveloped area of study. However, the few studies this researcher has found suggest that black children are more positive in their attitudes toward scholastic performance than are their white peers (Ogbu, 1978;210; Cummings, 1977; Rodgers, 1975; Edwards, 1976; Shade, 1978). This finding is tentative at best.

Methods

The original study from which the present paper is drawn tested the hypothesis advanced by Coleman (1961a) that motivation to achieve academically may be sharply changed by altering the reward structure in a high school. (For a more comprehensive review of the literature and a detailed rationale for the hypothesis and research questions, see Mickelson, 1980). The larger study posed three questions: First, what are adolescent attitudes toward scholastic achievement and extracurricular activities? Second, does public reinforcement of academic achievement alter students' attitudes toward such performance? Third, to obtain a clearer answer to the second question, to what extend do other socio-demographic variables such as age sex, urban or rural origins, size of family, residential stability, birthorder, socioeconomic status[1], year in school, ethnicity moderate and influence attitudes toward scholastic achievement? The first research question is the primary focus of the present paper.

The study was carried out in the Fernwood Unified School District.[2] This is a district located in the greater Los Angeles area. The district has two high schools, Fernwood and Seaside, both drawing their student bodies from a population of black working class families (see Table 1). The two high schools do not differ significantly in terms of either their size or their ethnic composition.

To test the hypothesis that changing a high school's reward structure will alter motivation to achieve academically, the investigator employed a quasi-experimental non-equivalent control group design study (Cook and Campbell, 1979). Fernwood High was the control condition and Seaside High served as the experimental school. A pre- and posttest were administered in both the experimental and

control schools, while a treatment was employed only at Seaside. Subjects were either in the experimental or control schools according to attendance zones based on their residence.[3] The number of subjects participating at Seaside High was 682 at pretest and 495 at posttest. Fernwood had 240 at pretest and 215 at posttest.[4]

The treatment in the experimental aspect of this study was an altered reward structure at Seaside High. It was conceived in accordance with the research hypothesis: a changed reward structure which reinforces academic achievement will increase the motivation of non-achievers to pursue it.[5] The treatment consisted of a series of public events in the high school and the community media which spotlighted and acknowledged academic achievers. These public occasions and events paralleled the public recognition and events afforded athletes, cheerleaders and student government officers (for a detailed account of the treatment, see Mickelson, 1980). The hypothesis was tested by assessing student attitudes toward academic achievement before and after the six month treatment period.[6]

The dependent variables in the experimental phase of this study were school means on eleven attitudes questions intended to measure student attitudes toward studying, getting good grades and student priorities regarding academic and nonscholarly activities.[7]

Information was gathered on characteristics the literature in sociology and education (for example see Averch, 1972; Boudon, 1974; Coleman, 1965; Jencks, 1976; Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972) has suggested moderate attitudes and performance in academic achievement. Exogenous variables included age nationality, place of birth (urban or rural origins), family size, years of residence in the school district, birth order, sex, class in school, number of school extracurricular activities, presence of an outside job, parental occupa-

tion and education.

The data were gathered by the use of a questionnaire administered to 1632 students in the Fernwood Unified School District during the Winter and Spring of 1979. Questions on the Likert scale were based on the adolescent subculture literature, interviews with Seaside seniors and the researcher's interests. The reliability of the meaures was not determined. A number of items were constructed to specifically reflect the questions Coleman raised in Adolescent Society (1961a).

Separate questionnaires were administered to female and male students to permit sex-appropriate questions on athletics as a valued activity for males and cheerleading/student leader for females. The questionnaires were administered to freshmen, sophomores and juniors in their English classes. Pretesting was done in February, 1979 and posttest in early June, 1979. Students who were absent from their English class on the days testing took place were not part of the sample. Students enrolled in remedial English classes were excluded from the study because of potential difficulty they might have in answering the questionnaire. A few seniors were inadvertently included in the sample becuse they were enrolled in junior English classes. All English teachers at Seaside participated; the chairman of the department at Fernwood selected several English classes to receive the questionnaire such that heterogeneity of English tracks and grade levels was achieved.

The design of this study has a number of problems which limit the generalizability of findings. The instrument used to gain the data also presents problems of internal validity. Consequently, interpretation of results is made cautiously with full recognition of the shortcomings the design and instrumentation of the study imply. The study nonetheless yields a tentative

exploration of black working class adolescent attitudes in the Fernwood School District.

Results

A striking feature of these results is the finding that students in both schools at both times of measurement (February and June) had extremely favorable attitudes toward academic achievement, toward studying and getting good grades, and that their peer groups were supportive of scholarship. The data analysis indicates that 68% of respondents say they look up to people who get good grades, 77% say their friends believe studying is important, 61% feel their friends will like them if they achieve in school, and 74% say that in high school it pays off the most to be a good student. However, regarding actual behavior, 61% of respondents state they are not working as hard as they can in school (see Table 6).

These findings contradict Hollingshead's Elmtowns' Youth (1949), Gordon's The Social System of the High School(1957) and Coleman's Adolescent Society (1961a) which presented evidence that social rewards, status and prestige were not to be gained through good grades. More recently, Goodlad (1980) found that in a national sample only 7% of students placed a high value on academics. The findings reported in this paper stand in contrast with almost all research on adolescent attitudes and most conventional knowledge on the subject of adolescent subculture. As noted earlier, this body of research focused primarily on white adolescents, while studies on black youth suggest more positve inclinations toward scholarship.

The data analysis also shows that there is no difference in the subjects' responses to the eleven measures of student attitudes either between experimental and control conditions, or between pre- and posttest at Seaside (see Table 5).

School mean scores on the eleven attitude measures were cross-tabulated with each of the moderator variables (Table 4). Frequency data were analyzed separately (by condition and by pre- and posttest) and combined. No differences were found. Combined data are reported in this section. Frequencies are based on an N of 1632. It was found that four variables moderated student responses to the eleven attitude measures (X^2 $p.< .001$, see Table 4). Age in years and class in school are related to attitudes such that the older the adolescent gets the less favorable attitudes toward achievement become. Foreign students have a more favorable attitude than do native born students (however, the number of foreign born students is extremely small). The longer a student resides in the Fernwood School District, the more likely s/he is to have favorable attitudes toward scholarship.

The results of this study indicate that the working class black adolescents of the Fernwood School District who participated in this research overwhelmingly held positive attitudes toward academic achievement. This tends to support the sparse literature on black youth, but directly contradicts the literature on white adolescents. More importantly, however, these students do not behave in the direction their attitudes would predict. In the year that this survey was taken the secondary students in the Fernwood school district scored below the 10th percentile in both verbal and quantitative measures on California state wide examinations.

Discussion

The Fernwood community is not an inner city ghetto. It is a working class community in which both parents often work and many parents have an education beyond high school (see Table 1 and 2).[8] The students who participated in this study are not the underclass black teenagers described by Folb in her recent study of South Central Los Angeles teenagers:

> The majority of youngsters I met had universal contempt for school. School was seen as a place where teachers were apathetic, often prejudiced and where students were rebellious and distrusted; where people learned little and attended infrequently, where you could cop drugs and get high. And many were distrustful of the so-called educated person, the person perceived to be a bookworm....(1981;96).

This is not a description of Fernwood students. These adolescents have the ability to do their work, their stated values reflect the dominant American ideology that for most people education is the route to social mobility and occupational attainment. Yet there is a contradiction between what these people say they believe about educational achievement and what they do about it.

The schism between attitudes and behavior is noted by John Ogbu who points out that "...research on achievement motivation among blacks reveals an interesting paradox. Black children do not have a lower interest in education than do whites. At the same time they do not perform as well as whites in intellectual tasks of the classroom (1978;210)." Ogbu asks the critical question: Why is there lack of motivation to perform in the classroon among black children? This discussion will attempt to offer a possible answer to this paradox.

The first part of the discussion will address the behavior dimension of this paradox: low achievement. John Ogbu's Minority Education and Caste (1978) is a cross cultural comparison of racially and ethnically stratified societies with caste-like minorities. He notes that in each of these racially and ethnically

stratified societies members of the caste-like minorities face a job ceiling regardless of their education and credentials. He finds that caste-like minorities invariably achieve and attain educationally less than the dominant group and non caste-like minorities in each of the six societies he investigated. Thus, Ogbu argues that lack of attainment and achievement by members of caste like minorities ought to be examined from the perspective of people who are still receiving differential and inequitable outcomes for their educational attainment.

In American society Blacks and Whites are still rewarded differentially for their academic achievement and attainment. Farley (1979) and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission (1978) document the extent to which educational attainment still has differential returns for women and ethnic minorities. Obgu argues that these labor market (opportunity structure) realities contribute to the differences between racial groups in their school performance. Society offers less of an incentive to acquire academic proficiency to minorities (1978;188).

Black students neither make sufficient efforts in their studies (note that 61% of respondents in this study said thay are not trying as hard as they can in school) or match their aspirations with accomplishments. Additionally, positive attitudes toward scholarship significantly diminish as the adolescent gets older(Table 4).

> ...I think their perception of the job ceiling is still a major factor that colors their attitudes as well as their school performance.... Given the premise that what motivates Americans to maximize their achievement efforts in school is the belief that the more education one has the better are one's chances for a better job, more money, and more status, ...is it logical to expect blacks and whites to exert the same energy and perform alike in school when the job ceiling consistently underutilizes black talent and ability and underrewards blacks for their education (Ogbu, 1978;193).

Perhaps the failure of black adolescents to achieve academically is a reflection of their realistic appraisal of what the American opportunity structure holds for them (Ogbu,1980).

While Ogbu's explanation for differential achievement focuses on racial stratification and a job ceiling, Raymond Boudon's parallel thesis on differential educational attainment stresses class stratification. In Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality (1979) Boudon offers a theoretical scheme to link educational attainment and social class. The school related decision-making processes that students and their parents undergo are highly sensitive to social background. In a stratified society school achievement and attainment imply different costs, risks and benefits for children of different social classes. Choosing a particular course of action in school (vocational or academic track, to put effort into school work or into a job, to invest one's human capital in academic pursuits) involves both monetary and social costs to the individual and the family. If the expected benefits of educational choices are a function of family social status (so that the higher the status, the higher the benefits, the lower the costs and risks---the dynamic here is a function of the opportunity structure which is outside the institution of education) it is rational for lower class youngsters to not choose academic achievement. Boudon supports this thesis with evidence that differential returns for educational attainment persist along class lines, thereby inverting the cost/benefit ratio for lower class students. The anticipated cost of choosing academic achievement and attainment is greater the lower the social class of the student's family.

> Sociologists are surprised that lower class people appear reluctant to pursue a high level of education.... My contention is that insofar as distinct systems of values can be observed in the various social class, they should be explained in terms of decision making fields that are a function of social position (1974;197).

Economic rationality is an explicit component of Boudon's thesis but it is implicit in Obgu's analysis as well.

Black working class youth fit the frameworks of both Ogbu and Boudon. These perspectives offer an explanation for the low academic achievement found disproportionately among able black and working class youth in general and Fernwood students in specific.

But how does one explain the paradox of positive attitudes toward scholastic excellence in spite of the job ceiling and the high risks and costs of pursuing more education? Blacks have been undaunted believers in the American ideology which holds that education is a critical vehicle for social and economic mobility. Historically education has been practically the only vehicle for black upward mobility (Kluger, 1975; Frazier, 1957). For the first half of the twentieth century the ministry and public education were the primary professions open to blacks who gained an education. These professions served the black community and were not threatening to the social order, as the white power structure defined it. Black parents instill in their children a faith in obtaining an education because there still seems to be no alternative. Yet adolescents are on the cutting edge of the intersection of this myth and the reality of the world of work.

This researcher feels the paradox of positive educational attitudes and low academic achievement can be interpreted as reflections of a dual frame of reference which Frank Parkin (1976) calls the dominant and subordinant value system of working class people. Parkin argues that the tendency among subordinan. people is not to reject the dominant value system and create an entirely different normative system, but to negotiate or modify the dominant one in light of their own existential conditions (1966;92-3).

Parkin acknowledges this principle of negotiating the dominant value system in response to the exigencies of lower class life is similar to Hyman Rodman's idea of the lower class value stretch (p. 3). Particularly salient to this discussion is Dillingham's 1977 study of the Chicago black

community which empirically tested the value stretch hypothesis and confirmed its existance with respect to educational aspirations of blacks (1980;258).

Parkin posits that subordinant class members have two distinct levels of normative reference; the dominant value system and a negotiated version of it. Which of the two frames of reference is actually drawn upon will be situationally determined. In situations where abstract evaluations are called for the dominant value system will provide the frame of reference; but in concrete social situations involving choice and action, the subordinate (negotiated) value system will provide the framework for action. Parkin notes that attitudes tapped by polls and interviews are likely to reflect the influence of the dominant value system.

> Thus, studies of working class attitudes which rely on questions posed in general and non-situational terms are likely to produce findings which emphasize class consensus on values; this is because the dominant value systems will tend to provide the moral frame of reference. Conversely, studies which specify particular social contexts of belief and action, or which rely on actual behavioral indices, are likely to find more evidence for a class differentiated value system; this is because in situational contexts of choice and action, the subordinate value system will tend to provide the moral frame of reference (1976;95).

The students who participated in this study quite probably are reflecting two frames of reference. Their attitudes toward academic achievement reflect the dominant value system and the American ideological mainstream of beliefs about education and social mobility. However, Fernwood students are members of the working class and of a subordinate racial group. Their life circumstances are the material context on which they base their actions. As Ogbu and Boudon suggest, for subordinate class members academic achievement is quite rationally perceived as not paying off, thus behavior which does not result in scholastic achievement may well be based on a subordinate value system. What the questionnaire in this study tapped was respondents' attitudes in the abstract and hence taken from their dominant value system frame of

reference; the long term achievement behavior is the situationally concrete reflection of their subordinate value system.

Support for this interpretation of the findings is provided by a former Seaside High student, now a junior at the University of California, Los Angeles. When presented with the paradox and asked for his explantion, he responded with the following anecdote: a fellow Seaside graduate who held a job as a security guard confronted Larry regarding the tremendous amount of studying and work the latter was doing for his UCLA degree, "Man, why you struggling so hard? We both gonna end up as security guards in the end, except you gonna lose your hair sooner."

Previous research on minority students' attitudes and achievement motivation has too often been remiss in recognizing that what was tapped in this voluminous research on differential motivation, no motivation or different values may have been a reality dimension. Traditional social policy which follows from this perspective attempts to change students (witness the large number of programs such as Head Start, Follow Through, ESEA, ESAA and school desegregation) and far too few programs have focused upon changing the opportunity structure. The interpretation proposed in this paper, combining the notions of alternative values and a recognition by subordinate groups of the social structural constraints on their life chances, has different policy implications. As Dillingham suggests, policy developments which follow from such an analysis should reflect a broader conceptualization of subordinate groups' value orientations as well as a focus on the opportunity structure (1980;260). The current reversals in federal policies, like affirmative action, which focus social and government resources on changing structural problems, like the job ceiling, can only be viewed ominously.

FOOTNOTES

1. Socioeconomic status of the family was measured by the head of household's NORC occupational prestige score.

2. Fernwood and Seaside are pseudonyms.

3. Because of the non-random assignment of subjects to experimental and control conditions, a number of moderator variables were used as covariates in the analysis of the experimental phase of this study. The problems of modeling the error structure of the data from non-random groups are critical, and the author acknowledges the threats to validity of experimental results these pose. However, the results reported in the present paper are the outcome of a survey of attitudes of respondents in both high schools. While the data were gathered in a quasi-experimental context, they are also amenable to analysis as survey research data.

4. The large attrition of subjects at Seaside from pre- to posttest is a possible source of bias. There is no way of knowing if the absent students were a selected group. It is the speculation of the researcher that there is nothing systematic about the attrition; rather, the posttest was administered in June and many students are absent at this time due to school closing events, not any particular group of students.

5. While a strict test of the research hypothesis requires actual achievement data, it was not possible to collect these. The reason actual achievement data could not be collected centers around the University of California's and the Fernwood Unified School District's policies on human subjects research, as well as on issues of anonymity and parental consent. If individual student's achievement scores were to be used in conjunction with their responses to the attitude questionnaire, the investigator would have had to receive permission from the above authorities. Additionally, the students would be less inclined to be candid in their responses if they were identified. Therefore, the data were collected anonymously.

6. The relationship between an attitude and the behavior it reflects is always problematic. How do the attitudinal measures relate to the real variable under theoretical consideration: academic achievement? Since very few attitude scales predict achievement with correlations above .50, this question remains open. Nevertheless, since the research hypothesis attributes improved performance to changed attitudes, a measure of these provides a partial test of the suggested model of academic acheivement.

7. A factor analysis of the eleven measures failed to indicate a common factor, hence the measures are treated as separate items.

8. The tendency of these respondents is to over report their parents' educational attainment. However, the distribution, while inflated, shows Fernwood adults to be similar to the national population in educational attainment. Additionally, Fernwood adults reflect the tendency for black women's educational attainment to surpass that of black men.

FOOTNOTES, (continued)

9. Students' responses to the question asking whether they want to be remembered as being smart or for being an athelete/cheerleader at first may appear to contradict this thesis since only 26% responded that they wanted to be remembered as being smart instead of as an athlete. Infact, the essence of this response pattern is quite compatible with the argument presented in this paper.

Students responses quite often reflect their perceptions of real world success. Athletics is frequently highly rewarded in contemporary America, while education is perceived as not being rewarded for Blacks. The number of professional black athletes paraded on the media and the absence of other black role models whose attainment reflect educational attainment may present black adolescents with a strong message about the job ceiling and the realistic payoffs (lack there of) for being a good student.

The response to the question illustrates a negotiated version of the dominant value system: education is valued because it may lead to a sports career. However, when asked which role is more valued, athletics is chosen over scholarship.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PARENTAL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS USING NORC OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCORES

Parental Socioeconomic Status‡‡	% Fathers	% Mothers
Upper Middle Class (55-99)	9.7	9.7
Middle Class (41-54)	12.6	20.9
Working Class (29-40)	19.7	12.2
Lower Class (0-28)	8.1	3.1
Other*	49.9	54.1 **
	100 (1632)	100 (1632)

* Includes Housewife, Unemployed, Declined to State

** The large number of cases found in the category 'other' is due to any number of reasons; single parent families, many mothers are housewives, one or more of the parents are not working. The researcher lives in the Fernwood community and is aware that a large number of the unemployed have until recently worked in nearby auto assembly plants, tire plants and aerospace assembly occupations. The distribution above appears more heterogeneous than the community actually is.

‡‡ The assignment of the NORC occupational prestige scores was done in consultation with Professor Linda B. Nilson, Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Level of Schooling	% Fathers	% Mothers
College graduates	32	34
Some college	25	30
High School graduates	29	27
Some high school	14	9
Total	100 (1466)	100 (1499)

TABLE 3

GENDER OF RESPONDENTS

Females	55	(901)
Males	45	(731)
Total	100	(1632)

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF CROSS-TABULATIONS OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES BY TREATMENT GROUP BY INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

		Age	Foreign Born	Years in District	School Class
I am working as hard as I can in school	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.14	-.28	-.24	.15
Most of my friends do not believe studying is important	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.13	-.27	.23	.15
A person cannot work hard at sports and grades at the same time	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.12	-.27	.23	.15
I do not look up to people who get good grades	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.12	-.27	.24	.15
I feel my friends will like me if I do well in school	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.11	-.27	.25	.16
I'd rather be remembered as an athlete than as a smart student	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.10	-.28	.25	.16
The grades I get in school pretty much reflect my ability	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.11	-.27	.25	.16
I would rather be remembered by my friends as....	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.11	-.26	.24	.16
If I don't feel like studying I....	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.12	-.24	.23	.16
Being a good student is all a person needs to be popular	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.12	-.28	.24	.16
When you are in high school it pays off the most to be....	X^2	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
	Gamma	.13	-.26	.24	.17

TABLE 5

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES BY PRE AND POSTTEST SCORES BY EXPERIMENTAL (SEASIDE) AND CONTROL (FERNWOOD) CONDITIONS

		Mean	Standard Deviation	Missing Cases
V3				
I am working as hard as I can in school	Fernwood Pre	2.63	0.77	18
	Fernwood Post	2.57	0.79	
	Seaside Pre	2.74	0.77	
	Seaside Post	2.74	0.78	
V4				
Most of my friends do not believe studying is important	Fernwood Pre	2.83	0.88	15
	Fernwood Post	2.79	0.89	
	Seaside Pre	2.77	0.88	
	Seaside Post	2.84	0.85	
V5				
A person can't work hard at a sport and hard at grades at the same time	Fernwood Pre	2.97	0.92	21
	Fernwood Post	3.02	0.90	
	Seaside Pre	2.91	0.94	
	Seaside Post	2.89	0.93	
V6				
I do not look up to people who get good grades	Fernwood Pre	2.78	0.98	22
	Fernwood Post	2.82	0.95	
	Seaside Pre	2.85	0.92	
	Seaside Post	2.89	0.89	
V7				
I feel my friends will like me if I do well in school	Fernwood Pre	2.31	0.90	49
	Fernwood Post	2.49	0.89	
	Seaside Pre	2.25	0.89	
	Seaside Post	2.31	0.86	
V8				
I'd rather be remembered as an athlete than for being smart	Fernwood Pre	2.91	0.84	88
	Fernwood Post	2.97	0.79	
	Seaside Pre	2.95	0.88	
	Seaside Post	2.96	0.85	
V9				
The grades I get in school pretty much reflect my ability	Fernwood Pre	2.23	0.93	29
	Fernwood Post	2.37	0.93	
	Seaside Pre	2.46	0.96	
	Seaside Post	2.40	0.89	

TABLE 5 (Continued)

		Mean	Standard Deviation	Missing Cases
V10				
I would rather be remembered by my friends as . . .	Fernwood Pre	2.39	0.98	249
	Fernwood Post	2.38	0.98	
	Seaside Pre	2.54	0.97	
	Seaside Post	2.57	0.95	
V11				
If I don't feel like studying I . . .	Fernwood Pre	2.98	0.73	65
	Fernwood Post	2.96	0.75	
	Seaside Pre	3.09	0.76	
	Seaside Post	3.09	0.73	
V12				
Being a good student is all a person needs to be popular	Fernwood Pre	2.36	0.93	50
	Fernwood Post	2.41	0.99	
	Seaside Pre	2.46	0.94	
	Seaside Post	2.33	0.92	
V13				
When you are in high school it pays off the most to be . . .	Fernwood Pre	3.41	1.04	161
	Fernwood Post	3.48	0.94	
	Seaside Pre	3.43	0.96	
	Seaside Post	3.53	0.90	

TABLE 6

FREQUENCIES OF RESPONSES TO DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	% Strongly Agree	% Agree	% Total Agree	% Disagree	% Strongly Disagree	% Total Disagree	% Total	Missing Cases
I am working as hard as I can in school	6	30	36	48	16	64	100	15
Most of my friends do not believe studying is important	8	25	33	45	22	67	100	12
A person can't work hard at a sport and grades at the same time	10	17	27	43	30	73	100	18
I do not look up to people who get good grades	10	22	32	42	26	68	100	19
I feel my friends will like me if I do well in school	19	42	61	29	11	39	100	46
I'd rather be remembered for being smart than for being an athlete/cheerleader	6	20	26	46	28	74	100	86
The grades I get in school pretty much reflect my ability	18	37	55	32	13	45	100	25
I'd rather be remembered as*	8	80		4	8		100	247
If I don't feel like studying I...**	6	9		59	26		100	62
Being a good student is all a person needs to be popular and successful	17	42	59	27	14	41	100	47
When you are in high school it pays off the most to be*	5	18		3	74		100	159

*Star Athlete/Cheerleader | Nice,friendly person | Member of the Popular Group | Good Student

** I do it anyway | Sometimes I do sometimes I don't | I watch TV and think about studying | I run the streets

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